



Archibald 95

THE E. & N.

- AND -

THE LAND GRANT.

TO THE READER:—No explanation is needed for the appearance of this pamphlet, for a subject so vital demands all the light that can be thrown on it. But it should be clearly understood that the writer speaks only for himself, and is not connected with any political party. It was only because no one else did that the writer first brought forward the subject (by recent letters to the press). It is only because no one else has (to his knowledge) taken up the matter that he has published this pamphlet. Throughout the writer will contend himself with doing what others leave undone; but having now taken the matter up he intends with the help of Providence to carry it through, and see justice done.

L. H. FULLAGAR,

Victoria, B. C.,
the 4th, 1898.

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The E. & N. and the Land Grant,

BY L. H. FULLAGAR.

Victoria, June 4th, 1898.

Keep this by you. The principles and facts set forth in this pamphlet are believed to be lasting and true. Whether we shall in the coming contest triumph over greed and tyranny, Providence alone can tell ; but if not, the struggle shall go on from year to year, till with the help of Providence the public right is established, the poor protected, and the proud subdued.

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I.

THE MEASURE.

Let the Province take the management of the Land Grant out of the hands of the Company, and administer the property itself for the country's good, on the same terms as Crown lands, modified where necessary or just, all proceeds to be set aside. Bring the question as to how those proceeds should be disposed of, and as to the rights of the Company in the land, and of all other parties interested, to an impartial decision without delay ; and divide those proceeds accordingly.

II.

THE PUBLIC RIGHTS.

NO one has a right to injure the country. No one has a right to do, either with himself or his property, what injures

the nation. If he does, the nation has both the right and duty to compel him to do, or to have done for him, what the good of the country requires.

Have the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway Company managed their Land Grant for the country's good? Ask the farmer, who sees his children leaving the country in search of bread; that country with thousands on thousands of fertile acres—reserved; stolen by private greed from the use of the people. Ask the poor prospector, who, after the months of expense and toil, finds himself held up to the tune of \$130 down and as much more in short order—or robbed of his hard won finds; sheer wrong, for be it clearly known that so far as one can tell the E. & N. have no more right to demand that payment than any bully on the highway. They rely on the high hand, and on the ignorance and helplessness of the poor people. Ask the dwellers in the towns whose natural growth is checked and every enterprise blighted through being backed, not by a thriving and growing farm country, but by an encroaching waste. Ask the land itself. For eleven years the Company has had a full control, unhampered by interference, unbridled by law; time enough to have made the country a network of thriving homes. And what is it now? Go through the back districts of the Island, and you find cabin after cabin deserted and ruined; the little clearings relapsing into forest; the wild beast prowling through the dwellings of men. How long will the country stand such wickedness? How long shall we sit tamely by, and allow this corporation to plunder our poor people and desolate our homes? The remedy is straightforward and clear. Have the Land Grant managed for the country's good, and give the E. & N. Railway Company as much of the proceeds as they are entitled to.

We have a ready standard as to how the Land Grant should be dealt with, in the way the Crown lands are managed. The Crown lands are avowedly dealt with according to the best wisdom of the nation to raise the greatest revenue consistent with the development and with the best interests of the country.

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All Crown lands are open to any one to go and take up 160 acres at \$1 an acre, and he gets no mere surface rights, or supposed surface rights; he gets the whole land, coal, minerals and all (except, of course, the gold and silver). Where the management of the E. & N. Land Grant differs from that of the Crown lands we are safe in taking it that the Company is injuring the country, unless, indeed, they could shew that the difference was an unselfish improvement for the country's good. Does the country lock up all the pick of the farming lands for a mink preserve? Does the country extort \$3 an acre or more for mere surface rights? The nation has shewn by the example of its own Crown property that to offer only a divided ownership is against the public interest. Does the Crown demand \$260 cash, half down, and half in a year, as soon as every mineral claim is located on Crown land? If not, then, in so doing, the E. & N. are abusing their position and wronging the country. The best way of ensuring that the Land Grant is rightly administered will be for the Province to administer it itself. Let us have the land managed by the Province on the same lines that Crown property is dealt with, and hand over to the E. & N. as much of the proceeds as belongs to them.

I do not think the farmers on the Railroad lands are fully aware of the grave dangers they are under; nor do the public know what an unheard of weapon of tyranny the E. & N. have endeavored to create. It is commonly supposed that the farmers on these lands have only surface rights, but that the right to the surface, he has. That is not so. He has the whole land, and the land is his; but his deed reserves power to the Company to injure him to almost any extent at pleasure. It is a comparatively small thing that the Company reserve all coal and minerals, and the right to search for them and to mine them at pleasure, for they are bound to pay "reasonable compensation" for doing so; though everyone can judge for himself how far, between the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway Company and a poor, helpless farmer, the "reasonable compensation" might be whatever they chose to give him. But the E. & N. reserve the

right to take all the land they want for their railway, and for all their stations and workshops, *without paying any compensation at all*. Let every farmer realise that. There is no exception; they may take the whole clearing for a station and sidings; they may run their railway over the ashes of his home. And not a cent of compensation. No matter if he have toiled on it for years, if he have spent his lifetime in making a good home and farm out of the forest; if it suits the E. & N. he and his will be turned out in their old age, penniless, to starve. And who knows where the railway may want to run, to mines in the mountains, or to the sea? But the railway cannot run everywhere; but the next clause effects every farmer on Railroad lands in the entire land belt. The E. & N. reserve the right to take, *without any compensation*, all the timber they require for railroad purposes. Think what this means. The Company can come down on any farmer, anywhere in the whole belt, and cut down every stick of timber on his land; or, if whole trees don't suit their purpose, they can cut off tops and pieces of trees, and let the rest spoil. And so long as the timber is to be used anywhere, along the whole line, he will have no redress whatever. And how is he to tell what the timber is used for? Let no one think himself safe, once the elections are over. What though the Company's forests wave over two million acres? Will they honestly buy the timber they require? They will take the poor man's lamb. They will come down on some poor, honest man who has the manliness and courage to resent their tyranny, and cut and spoil every stick of timber that he has. And no distance will make a man safe, when what is sought is not timber, but terror and revenge.

To whom will the sufferer have recourse? If he goes to the courts, his own deed meets him in the face. Not but what the Company's right might perhaps be questioned, even under the deeds that they now give to settlers, but how could a poor farmer maintain a long lawsuit against the E. & N. If he appeal to the Legislative Assembly, his own member, perchance, is the Company's hireling or slave. One last recourse remains.

The oppressed in every nation can call upon his King ; can appeal to that Power ordained of Providence to set forth justice in the land, and to defend the poor. But what will that avail, when the holy Majesty of our ancient Throne is in the hands of hirelings who abet the oppressor, or of poltroons that cower before him. No, the people must save themselves ; and, what have you to fear ? Thanks to Mr. Forster's Act, which, by the help of Providence the Opposition forced through the House last Session in the teeth of the E. & N. gang, a man's ballot paper absolutely *cannot be traced*, so that every man can vote as he thinks right with perfect safety. You have nothing to fear but your own local cliques and jealousies, your own folly and meanness, on which your spoilers play. Once return a good local man devoted to enforcing the country's rights, and no matter how the general elections go, that district will have a champion in the House and country, and that district will be protected. But that is not enough. We must go on till every farmer has absolute security with a good, clear title in his hand, his timber and his home.

III.

ON COMPENSATION.

Various suggestions have at times been made that the Province should buy out the E. & N. Railway Company. But before doing any such thing we should first make the Company do their duty, or have it done for them, and after we had tried that state of things a while, we could tell if we needed any further change ; and secondly, if so, we ought to ascertain what rights the E. & N. really have in the lands to sell. As regards the first point, to go back to what was said at the beginning, the rule that no man has a right to injure the country, holds good as well as regards to land and other property as to anything else. Our whole nation is founded on duty. Every man has his duty to do as well with regard to his property as to anything else he possesses. And again, as to property, there has never been such a thing in our nation as absolute, uncontrolled ownership of

anything. Whatever it be that a man has, whether lands or other property, or his own time and life, the thing itself is not his; he has only the possession of it, or the right to possession, and he must use it in accordance with the country's good.

Where this duty might appear uncertain, or the breach of it more than usually serious, the nation in Parliament assembled has usually made laws to direct a man how to deal with his property, and to compel him to do it. Some other breaches of duty are dealt with by the law apart from statute, as nuisances, etc. To say that a man may do what he will with his own, simply means that within certain limits a man is left to his own discretion as to what his duty requires, or is not actually punished if he neglects it. How wide those limits are depends on what the Legislature thinks fit. The owner of a lot in the outskirts of Victoria can put up pretty nearly any sort of shanty on it anywhere he pleases, but if within the fire limits it must be of brick or stone; and if the lot were on a good street in a town in Scotland or England, he would have to build his house exactly in line with the other houses in the street, and of a design to harmonize with theirs. If we are not continually conscious of the duty of employing ourselves and all we have for the country's good, it is only because most working people do so in the main as a matter of course, and in the manner directed. Thus every tax is an instance where the nation has been fit to define, whether correctly or not, the amount and method in which the country's welfare requires the taxpayer to render up part of his possessions. Sanitary regulations, sewers, etc, are another everyday example. As far as concerns doing with one's property what is for the country's good, there is no question of compensation. When the country's welfare requires a man to give up his property, his time, or his life, he is not parting with any rights, for he has no right to do otherwise. Take the case of the Militia of Canada, for example, when called out for service; do they sell their lives and wounds? Or take the case of the taxpayer? It is for us people of the Province, assembled with our Sovereign in our Legislature Assembly, to declare what the

E. & N. should do. So long as we simply compel the Company to dispose of the Land Grant, or have it disposed of, as is best for the country, and hand them over as much of the proceeds as their rights in the land will bring in when treated in this manner, no question of compensation can arise, for they have no right to deal with the land in any other way; but if, after enforcing their duty, (which has never been done yet) it appears best for the country to deprive them of any of their interests in regard to the lands, of course they should be compensated, and liberally.

IV.

THE RIGHTS OF THE E. & N. IN THE ISLAND
RAILWAY LANDS.

In all that has gone before it has been taken for granted that the Land Grant belonged wholly to the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway Company. We will now examine what are the rights of the Company in the lands; and shall find that, so far from the Company owning them, they do not belong to the Company at all, but are merely held on trust to be settled and disposed of on the same principle as Crown property, except as to the timber. This matter is of quite a different nature from what has gone before; it is no question of right and wrong, but of examining the words of Statutes and legal decisions. But still it is of great importance that the public should distinctly understand what rights the Company has in the Land Grant, as near as can be determined, that they may defend both themselves and the country in an intelligent and spirited manner. The writer does not pretend to speak with authority; but he has spared no pains to be correct, and will now endeavour to state his conclusions, with some of his principal reasons, in a manner intelligible to the public.

Of course, the Company's rights in the Crown lands of the Province depend on the Provincial Statutes. Their rights do not depend at all on what the public thought at the time was being given them, nor on what the promoters of the Company

supposed they were getting. The Province acts only by its Statutes, and the Company has no rights in the Crown lands of the Province beyond what the Acts of the Province give them. Again, the fact of the E. & N. holding the lands does not shew that they own it; indeed, the fact of their holding the land has nothing whatever to do with the question as to whom it belongs to. One must know what purpose they hold it for. A man may hold land and have it registered in his name, although he has no interest in it whatever; or he may be entire owner, and have full control, of land that stands in someone else's name. Suppose, what happens every day, that a father, by his will, leaves his land to his friend A in trust for his son B. Then A will hold the land, but he has no interest in it; it does not belong to him at all. It belongs altogether to B; and B (when he comes of age) can take the entire management of the property and can order A to do with it whatever B chooses. Or, instead of leaving the land to A in trust for B, the late owner may have left it to A on trust to sell, either by auction or in any other manner. In this case A will hold the land, and when he sells he will give the same kind of deed as if it were his own; but he will have no interest whatever in the land, and no right to do anything with it except sell it in the manner directed, and if he hold on to the land and do not sell it as directed, especially if he is doing so for his own private advantage, the Court will take the management of the property from him and arrange the sale, and will make him pay up any advantage he may have gained, and punish him with costs and damages.

The Province did not grant the land to the E. & N. direct. The Province in 1883 granted the land to the Dominion, and the Dominion handed it over to the Company. Now, as said before, the mere transferring the land round does not shew that either the Dominion or the Company had any interest in it whatever; they might both be mere trustees. We must see what interest in the land, what actual value, the Dominion received to hand over the to E. & N.

In 1883, then, the Dominion and British Columbia govern-

ment came to a final settlement of their long disputes about the transcontinental line. The Provincial Government agreed to grant to the Dominion all the Crown lands within twenty miles of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and the Island railway grant, besides 3,500,000 acres by the Peace River; and the Dominion, besides paying the Province \$100,000 a year, and building the C. P. R., agreed to contribute \$750,000 to the construction of the railway from Esquimalt to Nanaimo, and to hand over to the contractors for the line the land which British Columbia might place in its hands for that purpose. Accordingly by Act of Legislature (47 Vic. C. 14) the Province, following the agreement, granted to the Dominion Government, in identical language, the 40-mile belt on the Mainland, and the island railway grant.) The Act goes on to incorporate the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway Company, in terms which will be referred to later. The Dominion Government in due course handed over the Island railway grant to the Company.

Now it will be remembered that the mere holding of lands is quite distinct from the real ownership of them. As far as any substantial interest or real value was concerned, the Dominion Government could only give the Company what it had received from the Province to give. As both the Island railway grant and the 40-mile belt were granted together on the same footing, and in identical terms, the Dominion Government must have taken the same interest in both districts; and therefore the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway has no larger right or interest in the Island Land Grant than the Dominion has in the 40-mile belt on the Mainland. What these rights and interests were was decided by the Privy Council in 1889, in what is generally known as the "Precious Metals Case."

The question was whether the gold and silver in the 40-mile belt belonged to the Province or the Dominion. As is generally known, all gold and silver in all lands through the Province, together with the free right to mine and get them, belong to the Crown in right of the Province; in behalf of the Dominion, however, it was argued that the precious ores, after all, were

part of the land, and that the Province had transferred its whole rights and interests in the land, precious ores included, to the Dominion. But the Privy Council decided that that was not the case.

"Leaving the precious metals out of view for the present, it seems clear that the only 'conveyance' contemplated was a transfer to the Dominion of the Provincial right to manage and settle the lands, and to appropriate their revenue. It was neither intended that the lands should be taken out of the Province, nor that the Dominion Government should occupy the position of a freeholder within the Province. The object of the Dominion Government was to recoup the cost of constructing the railway by selling the land to settlers. Whenever land is so disposed of the interest of the Dominion comes to an end." (14 App. Cas. p. 302.)

Likewise, therefore, it was never intended that the Esquimalt & Nanaimo Railway Company should occupy the position of a freeholder within the Province. The Company's only right is to appropriate the revenue arising from the settlement of the lands. In other words the Privy Council decided that the Mainland belt did not belong to the Dominion Government at all, but that the Dominion simply hold it on trust for sale to settlers on ordinary Crown property terms, and are only entitled to the incidental revenue arising from its settlement and development as Crown property. Both the Island Land Grant and the Mainland Belt were originally granted to the Dominion by the Province in the same manner and on the same terms, so that if the Dominion had retained the Island lands in their own hands they would now be holding them on the same terms as they do the Mainland Belt. Instead of which, the Dominion transferred the Island lands, with all their rights in them, such as they were, to the Company; so that now the Company has just the same rights as to the Island Land Grant that the Dominion has as regards the Mainland Belt, and no more; that is, as said before, to dispose of the land as Crown property and take the incidental revenue arising from the settlement and development of

the property, except as to the timber. As regards the coal and other minerals, they form part of the land, and are nowhere treated of as distinct. In other words the Company holds the coal and the minerals upon trust for disposal in the same general manner as coal and minerals on Crown property are disposed of.

It might naturally be asked why such a trust was not expressly set out in the Provincial Act. Possibly no one ever dreamed at the time that the Company would claim to hold the lands on any other terms; at all events the Act does contain the strongest negative evidence.

Take the tax exemptions, for instance. The railway itself was tax free for ten years, but the Company holds the Land Grant *tax free forever*, so long as it neither parts with it nor uses it. One can understand why a railway through an unpopulated country should be tax free till traffic has had time to develop, but why should not a railway company, like anyone else, pay taxes on its other property. Clearly because in this case the Land Grant is not the property of the Esquimalt & Nanaimo Railway, but is held on trust only.

Again, it is well known that a public company can do only those things that they are expressly formed to do. Now, the E. & N. Railway Company has no power to mine. Although the Land Grant was known to be rich in minerals, and believed to be rich in little else, the Company has no power to mine at all. Now, can anyone conceive that if it had been intended that the Land Grant and its minerals should belong to the Company for their own, they would not have been given power to turn their property to account. If even the promoters of the Company had ever dreamed of claiming the property for their own, would they not have taken power to make use of it? Of course if one bears in mind that the Company are merely a simple railway company with power to run local steamers, and that they only hold the land to sell, as explained before, and have no right to keep or use any of it except for their railway and steamboats; there is no reason why they should be empowered to mine.

As regards the timber, both Provincial and Dominion Acts

enact in the same words that "all lands . . . containing belts "of timber fit for milling purposes shall be sold at a price to be "hereafter fixed by the Government of the Dominion or by the said Company." The reader will see that, supposing no price to be fixed by the Dominion Government, this amounts to saying that the Company shall sell the timber belts at their own price. How could this be so important as to be put in two distinct Acts? If the property belonged to the Company, there would have been no need to give them power to fix their own price for it. But, as shewn before, it does not belong to the Company; they only hold it to dispose of as Crown property; therefore they had to be given special power to fix the price of the timber belts in order that they might not have to part with them at the usual public give-away rate, but might make what they could of the timber lands, but of the timber lands alone.

In conclusion; the Company holds the Land Grant for the purpose of settling it and developing it as is done with Crown property, and has no right to do anything else. The Company itself is entitled to make just as much of the land, and no more, as if the Province had never parted with the land, but kept and dealt with it like the other lands of the Crown, and had simply handed over to the Company the income from the districts contained in the railway belt. If the Company has made more out of any piece of land, the overplus does not belong to them and they must pay it up.

Next, it is a breach of trust, and an abuse of their position, to use the slightest pressure on holders of mineral claims to purchase mineral or surface rights; because that is not done on Crown lands, whose management the Company has to follow. Assuming that it is beyond question that the Company have endeavoured to use such pressure far and wide, every holder of a mineral claim who has bought any rights of the Company is entitled, if he choose, to reconvey those rights to the Company and receive again his money with interest, unless the Company can shew beyond question that such pressure could not possibly have influenced him.

Next it is a breach of trust, and a thing the Company has not the slightest right to do, to reserve any lands from settlement. All reserves should be thrown down at once, and the lands thrown open, not necessarily for pre-emption, but on reasonable terms. And in regard to these reserves the Provincial Treasury must be considered. The reader will remember that though the railway was tax free for ten years only, the Land Grant is tax free forever. This is as it should be. It would be unjust to tax the Company on the Land Grant, because it does not belong to them. But by locking up the land from settlement the Company have wrongfully deprived the Treasury, that is, the other taxpayers of all the taxes that those lands would have produced if they had been taken up, and of all the taxes in years to come till the lands are sold. Of course it is impossible to reckon anything like the injury that the Company has done, not only to the Treasury, but to the people of the Island and the country at large; but where reserved land is worth, say, from \$5 to \$15 and \$20 per acre and upwards we may safely assume that, if open to pre-emption (at \$1 an acre) it would have been taken up, and the Company should pay the back taxes lost, and current taxes yearly until the land is sold.

Before quitting the subject it should be observed that by section F of the agreement of 1882 mentioned before between the Governments of the Dominion and British Columbia, the two Governments agreed that for four years the Island railway lands should, except as to coal and other minerals, be open to actual settlers at \$1 an acre; and that in any grants to settlers the right to cut timber for railway purposes and rights of way for the railway, stations and workshops shall be reserved. It will be observed that the whole provision is only in force for four years, which were up on Dec. 19th, 1887.

As regards the reserving of rights of way, and of timber, that is not a clause to be inserted in the deeds or Crown Grants of the land, but is a very just stipulation between the two Governments, that the land and timber wanted for the railway should not be parted with; else persons might have taken up

the very land and timber wanted for the line, and cinched the contractors.

One need hardly say that one's remarks on reserves, pre-emptions, etc. refer to the lands that will grow something. The writer would not intimate that the reserving of townsites, in reason, is necessarily either unlawful for the Company or injurious to the country.

V.

EXCLUDED.

The task in hand is to deal with the Land Grant, and with the Land Grant alone. Other question relating to the Esquimalt & Nanaimo Railway Company are distinct, and should be kept so.

Thus it may be that the charges on the railway are excessive, and the management obnoxious. It may be that the Company have departed from the strict impartiality of a public company to favour certain undertakings, such as coal mines, as against rival concerns. The writer does not mean to say that it is so, but to point out that such matters concern the Railway Company as such, and are distinct from the management of its lands. Similarly, the writer has been informed by old men and much esteemed, that Her Majesty's representative in Canada, the then Governor General, personally requested the late Mr. Robert Dunsmuir to carry the line through, and that in consequence of that request Mr. Dunsmuir came forward and did it. Should that be clearly proved, as to which the writer expresses no opinion, it would well become the Province, if occasion were, not to allow his family to be the losers on the whole by loyal and worthy conduct; but any consideration of such a subject is a matter of grace, not of right, and should come from political opponents.

VI.

CONCLUSION.

To return to our beginning. Let the Province awake to the duty and right of having the Island Railway Lands managed for the country's good. To that end let the Province manage and dispose of them, at the public expense in the first place, (which would be trifling) setting aside the proceeds. So much the Province is entitled to do, whoever the land belongs to. As regards the rights of the Company and the claim of mineral claim holders, etc., and of the Provincial Treasury, let all such matters be promptly referred to an impartial decision; for instance, to the Privy Council. Upon such a decision the rights of all parties will be established.

This can only be done by union and courage. All know how for years the interests connected with the E. & N. have overridden and defied the law. All know well that Ministers and members actually in the pay or under the influence of the Company can not be depended on even to have the Company's position, as set forth in Chapter IV, fairly decided, much less to redress the country's wrongs. The first step towards honest government in British Columbia, the first requisite for any sound prosperity on Vancouver Island, is to destroy the political influence of the E. & N. Do we need awakening to the danger and disgrace of allowing a grasping corporation to feel itself above the law? I do not mean to say that it has happened, but suppose a fat thing was offered in the way of an unlawful supplying of coal to a belligerent power. What do forms and pretences count for in war? Shall we trust it to their honour, indeed, their unselfishness, their loyalty, to decline the offered job? Or shall we do our duty by ourselves and the whole nation, and hold these people in terror of doing what might both disgrace the Province and embarrass the entire Empire?

On the E. & N. question there is no room for three parties. Whoever is not against the Company is against the country. No issue now before the people of the Island, perhaps no task

now in hand in British Columbia, can approach in importance the enforcing of justice on this Company and the overflow of their influence, on the accomplishing of which the very life of Vancouver Island and the good government of the whole Province depend. Let all who love their country unite as one man for that end. No matter what you may have against your local candidate, even if he be, indeed, a farmer and neighbor, and though perhaps you might have preferred some other man yourself, yet once chosen give him your hearty support; go and vote for him yourself, and bring your neighbors along to vote for him, against the Company's man. Y

The following suggestions are ventured on matters of importance, perhaps not sufficiently impressed on the public mind.

I hope that no one who takes the country's side will descend to personalities in the contest. One despairs of pointing out how contemptible is such conduct; so weak, so foolish, and usually so unjust. Especially should none of the resident shareholders of the E. & N. be so much as mentioned. We have to do with the Company only, not with its shareholders; indeed we seek not to injure the Company even, but to redress its misconduct, and to destroy the malign political influence centred round it. It should be remembered that the majority of the shareholders are not British; half the stock is said to be owned by C. P. Huntingdon, the Crookers, and the Southern Pacific gang. We are fighting not so much against individuals as against grasping corporations, against evil practices, and against a low standard of duty and honour in regard to the public affairs. The false position of the E. & N. Railway Company is demoralising our public life. They are repudiating their duty, enforcing unfounded claims, and endeavouring to retain for their own a vast property that does not belong to them, and are seeking safety and success in their ill deeds by varied personal influence on individual ministers, members and voters.

The first step towards a healthy public life is to put the Company in its proper place, with its rights determined, its influence destroyed, and nothing to hope or fear from politics.

Let me again express the earnest hope that all wellwisher of their country, whatever their views, will keep carefully free from the unworthy envy at those to whose stewardship Providence has entrusted greater wealth than to ourselves, for they are, or should be, the *Nobles* of our land. In all Aryan races, it is believed, and from the earliest ages, but especially in our own nation and more or less in every epoch of our history, the foundation and essential of nobility is not birth nor brains, but wealth pure and simple. All our nation are all on a level, man for man, whatever they be called, (not speaking of the Blood Royal); but the principle is, that those families whom Providence has removed from the necessity of daily toil for daily bread should devote themselves, as occasion offers, to the country's service and quiet unselfish work—in higher politics when need be, but more especially in the important but unobtrusive details of local and municipal matters; and they should train up their children to the public affairs. So far from cavilling, we should make our richer neighbors feel that we expect them personally to take their share in local affairs, and to set an example of honour, of unselfishness, and of doing good work for its own sake without thought of reward.

The public should bear in mind that we in British Columbia are subject to grave and exceptional perils. There is, perhaps, no part of the Empire that offers such prey to the spoiler; and across the line are boundless masses of wealth wielded by perfectly unscrupulous hands. With Ministers on the make, with a House credulous, blind and divided, with a country sunk in apathy or engrossed with local interests and jealousies, what is there to hinder the foreigner from acquiring a domination in our country that may have the gravest consequences for every home in our land, and for the entire Empire? For the country's safety let us unite to form a real party throughout the Province; a body of men, not necessarily unanimous all round, or called by one name, but sincerely bent on attaining some common public aim, and led to that aim by leaders personally trusted by the country and supported by an intelligent body of public opinion

throughout the Province. But, to be a blessing to the country, a Party must have continually clear and lofty aims, and the leaders must be ready with practical measures to attain them. To unite men, one must accustom them to act together ; and thus one may hope that a general union of all, whatever their former position as to public affairs, to enforce the public rights in regard to the Island Railway Lands may be a first step to a formation of a united Provincial party that shall set foreign influence at defiance, shall teach local claims to bow to the interests of the Province and of the empire, shall carry through the great measures that the circumstances of the Province demand, and, above all, shall form and maintain a standard of honour and unselfishness in public affairs that shall make our Province an example to the nations.